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Wingate, Robert F.

An Address by
Hon. R.F. Wingate...

St. Louis

1873

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BY

HON. R. F. WINGATE

ON

AMERICAN FINANCE,

ITS

Evils and Remedies.



ST. LOUIS:

Printed at the East St. Louis "Press" Book and Job Establishment.

1873.

ADDRESS

BY

HON. R. F. WINGATE

ON

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ITS

EVILS AND REMEDIES.



ST. LOUIS:

Printed at the East St. Louis "Press" Book and Job Estate, St. Louis.
1873.

At a meeting of the citizens of the city of St. Louis, held at the Temple, November 7th, 1873,—on motion of Fleming W. Farris, Esq., the Hon. John Maguire was called to the chair, and, on calling the meeting to order, said: "We are here to hear discussed 'THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF FINANCE,' a subject of vital importance to the people, and to me as a citizen,—and to me as the Executive of the National Labor Council of Missouri,—of the deepest interest," and that he now had the honor of introducing the Hon. ROBERT F. WINGATE, well known as a faithful public servant. Whereupon Mr. Wingate addressed the meeting as follows:

Mr. Chairman, and Fellow Citizens:

I am not here in the character of a partizan politician, but to invite your calm and unbiased consideration of a subject, closely allied, and, as is believed, vital to the welfare of the people and to the perpetuity of their institutions. A subject the imposing magnitude of which, but that I feel fortified in reason and supported by developed facts, would deter me from an effort that will be confronted by an interested opposition, intensified by the example of the mother country, and practice of our own, long indulged in and submitted to, and hence pregnant with prejudices difficult of eradication.

The history of nations which passed in review before the founders of the Republic, taught the veritable lesson, that governments—monarchical, despotic or free, cannot long maintain their functions or remain independent of each other, without the sovereign control of the *purse* and the *sword*; and profiting by this lesson they so framed the constitution as to vest in congress the law making power of the nation, the power to declare war and to coin money and to regulate the value thereof, of which two essential and indispensable attributes of sovereignty, the power to coin money and to regulate the value thereof is the most vital. Money furnishes not only the sinews of war, but the safeguards of peace. It is the great incentive to industry, alike indispensable to domestic trade and foreign commerce; without it business must languish—die, and our land, consecrated to freedom, become a prey to the invader. Commerce, the builder, civilizer and beautifier of nations will abandon our shores, and liberty itself will be lost amid the throes of eternal feuds and dissensions.

Money constitutes our medium of exchange, and the sole purpose of its coining, whatever its consistency or material of which it may be coined, should be, to facilitate the transaction of the business, the trade and commerce of the nation. It has no other legitimate use whatever, and such being its functions, it should emanate exclusively from the National government, in quantity commensurate with the business necessities of the people, and in character of a kind, adapted to the demands of their trade and commerce; and above all compatible with the institutions. It should bear the impress of the Nation's sovereignty, declaratory of its denomination; and upon the faith of this sovereign impress or *money-token*, alone depend to give it credit and circulation. Like the nation, the sovereign impress of which it bears, it should be independent, wholly free from the control of the laws, customs and practices of other nations. It should, by virtue of law, constitute a medium of exchange and measure

of values, within the jurisdiction of its sovereign creator, and whether coined of gold, silver or paper, or of all of these substances it should have imparted to it, all of the qualities of money, be the money of the people and for the people, equal before the law. In the discharge of its functions, a common medium of exchange, payable and receivable in full discharge and acquittance of all debts, obligations and liabilities, individual, State and National. It should be the hand-maid of labor, of trade, and of the producing classes, as well as of capital. Capital and labor under our institutions must stand or fall together. And that they may be co-laborers in the cause of our common country, they must have a common medium of exchange; the interests of one cannot be fostered at the expense of the other, without a sacrifice of the principle of equality, upon which their mutual prosperity depends. Equality, the bulwark of liberty, the birth-right of all men in the civil relations of life, the idol of the fathers will not, cannot be, either established or perpetuated under our system of government or any other, without a common medium of exchange. A two-fold medium of exchange: one possessing all of the qualities of money, a measure or standard of values, as is our gold coin, the other, paper currency, not having imparted to it all of the quality of money, being limited in its functions of payment, and hence subject to the gold standard; has in the past and will in the future build up aristocracies, and augment the powers of capital, while it robs labor of its due rewards.

This brings me to the consideration of our monetary system and the practice of the nation, in the conduct of its financial affairs; and wherein as I maintain the principal of equality has been departed from, and as a consequence, burdens unjust and not to be endured, have been entailed upon labor—the producing, mercantile, and laboring classes, while the bond-holder, money broker, and exchange dealers have been, not only freed from taxation for the support of the government, but have been installed pensioners upon the nation's bounteousness; have been made sole heirs to the profits of the productive industry, trade, and commerce of the nation.

We have under the law, a two-fold medium of exchange, gold, greenbacks, and the so-called national currency, (silver need no longer be mentioned,) of which gold alone is a measure or standard of values; and the greenbacks and national currency the sole circulating medium. The greenbacks and national currency are both mere promises to pay money, they are not declared to be dollars, as is the gold coin, nor are they stamped with the monogram of the nation as the gold coin is; and hence like commodities of trade, are subject to, under the control of, and their values measured by the sometimes called money standard of the whole world—gold. The currency, dishonored and burdened with a precarious ever varying and ruinous rate of discount (the harvest of gold rings) is passed over by the agency of the national banks, to trade and commerce, to the merchant, the farmer, mechanic and laborer, and by force of law, becomes their only attainable medium of exchange, nor is this all.

the wrongs thus imposed upon trade and the industrial pursuits do not end here, as will appear when we consider the process by which the currency is brought into circulation, and the monopoly conferred by law upon the national banks which are formed by an association of persons, who deposit with the government, her bonds, in amount not less than fifty thousand dollars, and thereupon receive in return, upon the faith of the bonds, in national currency, without charge or draw-back, (save one per cent. on their profits, barely sufficient to cover the cost of the issue, thirty per cent. on the amount of bonds so deposited, and thereupon become bankers, brokers and exchange dealers; empowered by law to charge and receive on loans or discounts, interest at the rate allowed by the law of the State where located. This currency practically constitutes the banking capital of the association, and is furnished by the government—the people, without interest or discount, while they, the people, are forced to pay to the association, for the use of it, interest on short loans, at the rate, as the rule of ten per cent. per annum, calculated on the face of the currency, and deducted before-hand from the amount of the loan. The whole of the national currency, in the hands of the people, of trade and commerce, comes through the medium or agency of the national banks, thus subject in the first place to the money difference between currency and gold, as measured by the gold standard, and secondly, subject to the payment, in advance, of the interest authorized by law. It is not enough, that the deduction beforehand, of a percentage of this currency, termed discount, amounting to one-eighth thereof annually, in behalf of the agency or bank through which the currency is loaned to the community, absorbs all of the profits of the loan—contradicts its very purpose, and perverts its issue, to the benefit, not of the people who use it, but to the agency that distributes it, but the less the amount of discount between the currency and gold, as measure by the gold standard, together, with interest on the same, must also be borne by the borrower, and that, too, while the people are taxed to pay to the banks the gold interest as it accrues, semi-annually on the bonds, deposited by the banks and upon the faith of which the currency is issued to them.

The banks pay no tax on the bonds deposited by them. They pay no interest, nor do they suffer a discount of the currency issued to them. They are but middle men, who pass the national currency over from the Government to the people; and yet, as authorized by law, they demand and receive, gold interest on the bonds, upon the faith of which the currency is issued; and with the gold so paid to them, are empowered to enter the gold rings and speculate on the fluctuations of the currency passed over their own counters; and at the same time demand and receive ten per cent. as the rule, by way of interests or discount from the community for the use of the currency, and thus the productive industry—the labor and business interests of the nation, are burdened with taxation to pay the gold interest on the bonds; are subjected to the ten per cent. interest on the currency, and are compelled to bear the loss of the money difference

between gold and the currency—while capital freed from taxation, from interest or discount, is authorized by law, to prey upon the necessities of the people. Is this "equal and exact justice to all, exclusive privileges to none?" The legislation of no country in any age, furnishes a precedent for such legal inequality such in justice. Shall the industrial and business interests and pursuits of the nation—her patriotism, perpetually yield to such inequality, such injustice, can labor do so, without becoming the slave to capital? Can the nation and her material interests prosper at such disadvantage? Why wonder under such circumstances that business languishes, that taxation is onerous that our marine has been driven from the seas, that even our mails are borne by foreign vessels, that the laborer is rewarded with a bare subsistence, while capital is building up its pyramids of wealth? It will continue so, while the productive industry of the nation is forced to pay to capital, the tribute now imposed by law.

Why, then, I ask, why reason and justice demands submit to such unparalleled inequality? Does the general welfare require the sacrifice? Must the many toil on burdened with taxation, interest and discount, that the few may enjoy luxury and power? In the name of the Republic and her benign promises, I answer, no. Nor is this all. The principal of a large portion of our national debt, is evidenced by our five-twenty bonds, is payable in the lawful money of the United States, and now at the option of the government, for instance in green-backs and not necessarily either in gold or silver coin, as was ably and patriotically maintained by the lamented Stephens, who had more to do with their authorization than any of his compeers, and the memory of whose deeds as the acknowledged leader in Congress during the bloody ordeal of the war, will remain canonized in the American heart while equality remains the watchword of Union and liberty; no, the story of wrongs does not end here, but at the bidding of capital; at the bidding of gold-rings, as conceived by Jay Cook and under the leadership of Senator Sherman of Ohio, as provided by the syndicate policy, with the specious pretence of maintaining the nations honor, (thus flinging the fiery of Heaven to serve the father of Lies in) our bonds payable in the lawful money of the United States, and at the option of the Government; our five-twenty's must be converted into long bonds—thirty-year bonds, to be negotiated in Europe, requiring that the whole of the principal of the national debt, as well as the interest shall be paid in gold, which means a debt in perpetuity, never to be paid, but from time to time through centuries, to be funded and again funded; the interest in the mean time, to be paid in gold as it accrues, every three months at the English custom.

A financial policy, which involves a hazardous departure from the advice of the father of his country to avoid all entangling alliances with other nations, a policy which will prove, if carried out, a surrender of the nation's purse-strings, a surrender of the control of our monetary affairs to the monarchies of the Old World, and in the near future, result in America becoming

ing a mere tributary power to her foreign creditors. Carry out the syndicate policy, and continue gold the chief measure of values, and by reason of the known insufficiency of gold in amount, continue to authorize as is now provided by law, the emission of paper promises to pay money for the uses of trade—the transaction of the business of the people, and as assembled as that England, from whence the system was derived, has her extremes of wealth and of poverty—her aristocracy and degraded poor; time will develop in America an aristocracy no less exacting and overshadowing—a vassalage, no less hopeless and degraded. Like causes will produce like results. The pillars of the throne of England are embedded in her monetary system, and if we would preserve our equality, the corner-stone of the Republic, we should shun instead of following her example.

The fertility of our soil, our country's boundless resources, the vast extent of our unappropriated public domain, may postpone the calamity. Our love of country, of liberty and peace, which have enabled us to withstand all assaults from without, and even endure and survive the test of a most bloody and determined civil war, may and will stimulate our endurance, but as certain as that, the concentration of wealth and the centralization of powers, in the few in exclusion of the great body of the people, developed that corruption which robbed ancient Rome of her imperial sceptre, and enveloped her in dreary darkness; the day of our calamity will come. Our ruin is foreshadowed in her fall. Here as there, in this, as in that age, unless we heed the voice of reason and of justice, and thus shun the rock on which other nations, not our own, have perished.

Capital and labor, the rich and the poor, the high official and the humble toiler, will meet a common doom beneath the ruins of the Republic.

This is no mere ideal portrayal of our possible future. The corruptions of the hour, the rapid concentration of wealth, the thirst for political power not surpassed in any age, and that which sets at defiance every principle of honor and of honesty; the prostrating burdens that are being imposed upon the people, the impotent, unjust and partial legislation of our times; the exclusive privileges conferred upon corporate monopolies, wide spread discount and loss of confidence and the deplorable and well-learned murmurings of the people, in the light of history stamp it with verity.

As yet, however, we are not without hope, the pathway of our deliverance, is not entirely obscured, and, before our culminating wrongs shall have driven the nation to despair, before the crowded herds of Europe may in triumph point to America as a bleeding witness of man's incapacity for self-government, while yet they may, it behooves the people, all who would perpetuate our institutions, to rally to the rescue, re-assert and as a band of patriot brethren vindicate that sentiment which gave victory to the Revolution and life to the Republic, "equal and exact justice to all, exclusive privileges to none."

We feel and know, that the products of labor constitute our

national wealth, and that they are bought and sold through the medium of money, and we realize that this money becomes the controlling power, in the transaction of our business, trade and commerce; and that as this power is exerted, the interests of labor will be fostered or injuriously affected; and we feel and know, that the productive industry of the country is languishing while capital is becoming concentrated, its powers and profits daily augmented; and yet, in the hurrying race of life, rushing through the avenues of trade, frantic over the loss of their just rewards, the votaries of labor heed not, that while they are following the plow, gathering their harvests, feeding their herds, toiling in the factories, work-shops, and storehouses, braving the dangers of the seas, and of domestic commerce, to add to the wealth of the nation, capital is in the political caucus, in the nominating convention, controlling the elections, crowding the fetid lobbies of legislation, State and National; moulding and shaping legislation; until now, exempted from taxation, all of the burdens of government, its votaries, the denizens of Wall street, the bond holder, and exchange dealer clasp to their bosoms our non-taxed bonds, intrenched behind our national debt, wielding corporate monopolies, clothed with the powers of the gold standard of values and the sceptre of the currency, are fast becoming the sole recipients of the profits of the labor and commercial industry of a nation of forty millions of people.

Call it interest, discount, taxation, the results to the community are the same. Immaterial whether the wealth of a people, is periodically abstracted by tax-gatherers are swallowed up by overpowering capitalists, gold-rings, bond-holders, money-brokers or exchange dealers, the loss is similar and the wrong done equally exhaustive to a nation and as potential of ruin to a people.

The American is hardly, so was the Roman. The American is progressive, so was the Roman. The American gathers harvests of wealth, so did the Roman. The American loves his country, so did the Roman. The American is courages in battle and noble in council, so was the Roman. The American is a freeman, so was the Roman, and stood the shield, and shielded by his imperial city, the mistress of the world for centuries; and yet the Roman and his imperial city, with all his prowess, and all her magnificence and power, were forced at last to yield to the destroyer of nations—oppressive taxation.

Can America hope to withstand the assaults of this destroyer, and escape a like fate? The Roman knew nothing of corporate monopolies, and being taxed in corporate behalf, he was protected by law from the insatiate demands of the usurer. His government at no time outraged her citizens by delegating to a corporate body of usurers, the sovereign power of dispensing the medium of the exchange of her trade and commerce, and exacting interest or discount therefor, as is done in the American Republic. Such a surrender of the national authority was inaugurated by the English Monarchy about the close of the seventeenth century, and done to increase the power of her aristocracy, and thus strengthen the pillars of her throne.

Take away this discount in England and her monied aristocracy will dissolve. Relieve our productive industry of the interest, the discount and money-difference imposed by law, and incident to our two-fold medium of exchange; and in lieu of the greenback and national currency, issue paper dollars, having all of the powers of money, and thus furnish to trade, a medium of circulation, that shall be a measure or standard of payment so that gold in the hands of capital shall not be the sole standard or measure of payment, and the profits of labor, that are now swallowed up by the money broker and exchange dealer, will accrue to, and be enjoyed by, the producer, who is entitled to them. And the gold rings, in the commercial capital of the nation, which keeps the National Treasury in perpetual seige and alarm will be broken up; and gold seek investment in the growth of our cities and in the development of our national resources. Instead, as now, of enabling the law favored usurer, to absorb all of the profits of labor.

In justice then, in the name of the Republic, of its fundamental rule of civil equality, abrogate the law, that usurps the august functions of popular government, and which authorizes, in behalf of a few thousand men, a deduction of more than a tenth of the products of the wealth of our people. A law that absolutely prohibits the accumulation of the capital that belongs to labor, as its surplus earnings, by every form of device, whereby the great producer obtain but a bare means of subsistence, the overplus of his industry—his capital, being absorbed beforehand by the insidious discount of usury—a tribute to capital inflicted upon and enforced against, the importer of cargoes, the manufacturer, the mechanic and farmer, all of whom are victims of this insatiate taxation and the merchant by adding the interest or discount, to the cost of his merchandise, is compelled to hand down the oppression to every grade and class of community that trade with him; he is not, only the victim of interest or discount himself in the first instance, but he is made an engine of the law, to inflict it upon others, through every class and grade of society, all, all, are subject to its visitation. Every ocean vessel, that outrides the storm; every steamer that runs the hazards of our inland seas with their cargoes. The construction, equipment and cost of railroads with their freight of the products, of labor or of human beings, pays this wasting tribute. Every transaction in your commercial exchange, has this insidious process, hovering at its vitals; night and day, in this wide extended Republic, this currency is circulating as the people's medium of exchange, and imposing the weight of the insupportable burdens of interest and discount—profit of, penalties, suspensions, insolvencies, bankruptcies, gold-gamblings, loans, debts, tariffs, taxation and all heterogeneous mists of vicious legislation in the way of funding bills; all securities of a borrowed money policy, aided by a two-fold medium of exchange having unequal money powers; and by reason of which, millions of men engaged in the industrial pursuits have been strewn before it in the dust hurled down like a forest before a sweeping

storm; nor does it pause, to mark the fall of its victims, but speeds on in its mission of ruin—a necessity to all, yet ruining all who may, by stress of business, be driven within the scope of its devouring effects.

Such results should startle men who may to-day stand erect solvent, but whom to-morrow, or to-morrow, the system will assuredly reach. Results that would overpower any other nation than this superabundant Republic. Results, which should satisfy a congress of representative patriots, that their legislation therein has been destructive of that equality and diffusion of powers and privileges without which we must sooner or later cease to be a free people. Results that point with unerring certainty, to the cause of the languishing condition of our trade and commerce, and in unmistakable language measures for capital realizing all of the profits of the productive industry of the country. Results that challenge the patriotic interposition of all who would vindicate the civil equality of men, and make America an asylum for her own oppressed people, while it is claimed that she is the asylum of the oppressed of all nations.

Results that plead for and argue the cause of reforms that will stay the hand of oppressive taxation, that will relieve the great body of the people from a bankrupting rate of interest and discount, that will dispel the gloom now clouding our country's future, and reanimate in the love of the

"Land of the pilgrim's pride,
Lead where our fathers died."

Reforms that will sweep away the evils of our monetary system, and that mass of improvident, unjust and partial legislation, state and national, that has proved so prolific of corporate monopolies, land-grants, gold-rings, widespread corruption, and inequality, that are making such manifest inroads upon our national pride, and love of country that are blighting and withering the great American heart; that are tearing away and trampling underfoot one by one, and in rapid succession, the supports of our freedom, that are stealthily robbing us of our confidence in man's capability for self-government, and filling our minds with gloomy forebodings for our country's future that are actually shrouding liberty for its burial beneath the heel of a monied aristocracy. Reforms, plain, practicable, just and constitutional, lodged with the people—the source of all power who may, and of right under the constitution wield the sceptre of the nation's sovereignty. Reforms that will inspire hope, restore confidence and re-establish civil-equality. Reforms that are available, if the people will but cast away pre-conceived opinions and prejudices, founded more in customs than in reason; and array themselves in antagonism to the centralization of wealth and power to all monopolies and grants of exclusive privileges; and above all to a money policy, a two-fold medium of exchange, which was fastened on the young Republic soon after it rose from its baptism of blood, and from thence to this hour has contributed to the establishment of a monied aristocracy wholly in conflict, with the principles upon which the fathers founded their declaration of independence. A money system, which has in the fulness of

its fruition, in the last twelve years; dwarfed our marine, driven our merchantmen from the seas, converted our standard of values, gold, into a commodity, a thing of mere bargain and sale, made a usurer, a monopoly of capital, which by means of the power of discount, with which the law has clothed it, has enslaved the productive industry of the nation and made it tributary to its insatiable demands, to an extent so exhaustive, that nothing but the forbearance, the patriotism of the American people, could stay the red hand of revolution; that could under the whip and spur of our wrongs say, "let us have peace."

Be not deceived, our safety, politically and financially, lies in reformatory measures to be educated through national institutions, capital will never yield to an equality with labor, but, in the hope of enjoying the luxuries and powers, incident to an aristocracy, would rather that liberty should die. Hence the task of patriotism is great, indeed when we look in upon our national assembly, our representative agency, and witness the artful schemings of capital brought to bear through that instrumentality, and reflect that our national debt mounts up to billions; that it is in the hands of capital, secured by non-taxed gold bearing bonds, it would seem overwhelming, hopeless, but, thanks to the wisdom of our institutions, the sovereignty of the nation begins and ends with the people; who may through the ballot control its destiny, and if the people will but prove true to themselves, to justice, to the cause of liberty and mankind, they will through that instrumentality work out a peaceful solution of our country's ills, and bring about an equitable distribution between capital and labor of the profits of production, and make them as they should be, co-laborers in the cause of our common country.

Reformatory measures, like all other classes of legislation, should be reasonable and just, and I propose suggesting none other.

Our Union was in peril, and to save it intact and preserve the nation's life, armies had to be mustered and maintained in the field. Our revenues, being on a peace basis, were not adequate. Loans were resorted to, and to secure payment, our bonds, with interest coupons attached, were thrown upon the market, and disposed of at a ruinous discount—the inevitable result of the nation being at the mercy of capital. A national debt scarcely within human comprehension, was created (the feast of capital, and as it has proved, enervating burden cast upon the people—the laboring classes—who amid blood and carnage, rallied to the support of the Union, while capital enjoyed its coveted feast). The debt should be paid at the earliest moment possible and as "denominated in the bond." Good faith requires this. And in peace as in war, the nation's hope, those who toil must and will rally to the support of the nation's honor. At the same time they should demand that good faith shall be observed towards them. The products of labor have been and are taxed, exhaustively taxed—while the bonds, the fund of capital, have been and are exempt from all taxation municipal, state and national. The exemption was promised, is a part of the law of the con-

tract, and so made, in order to draw capital from its concealment the price of its patriotism. Keep the promise, however unjust the consideration.

The bonds made payable in gold should be so paid, together with the interest thereon. And thus adhering to the contract on their part, the people should require that the contract shall be observed on the part of the bondholder; that is, that the bonds made payable in the lawful money of the United States, our five-twentieths shall be paid in lawful money, and not necessarily in either gold or silver coin, and at the earliest option of the Government. That there shall be no further funding of the public debt, which will, in any way, increase the gold-bearing or other non-taxed obligations of the nation, but that our bonds should be called in and paid, as the ability of the nation will justify, that the interest may be stopped.

That the burdens of the public debt, so far as may be possible and consistent with the law of the contract, shall be so managed as to bear equally on all classes and interests.

That our financial system and revenue laws shall be so framed and administered that capital shall bear an equal proportion of the burdens created by the war, and no longer, by reason of that calamity, and by means of unjust discriminations, continue to enslave labor.

That the Government shall issue no more money of the nature of mere promises to pay money; or currency, its powers to be measured by a gold standard, or authorize or permit it to be done by others; but in lieu thereof the government alone, and without any intervening agency, shall issue *paper dollars*, having all of the powers or qualities of money for a circulating medium. That there shall be no further foreign loans negotiated on the part of the Government—a debtor without the means of payment is and must remain subject to his creditors; as well return to England our independence is to surrender to her the keys to our treasury. The syndicate policy, so-called, can prove nothing else than a curse to the nation. To exempt from taxation the capital invested in our bonds, in behalf of home capital, was unjust. But to convert the whole of the public debt, enormous as it is, into non-taxed gold-bearing bonds, and negotiate them in foreign governments, as contemplated by the syndicate policy, would be a crime beyond compare.

If labor is to be the pack-horse, the hewer of wood and drawer of water for capital, let it be for home capital. We should not go within the jurisdiction of monarchs to choose our masters,—our public obligations should not be permitted to pass *beyond the control of the nation's laws*.

If the people are to be burdened with taxation, and the profits of productive industry taken to discharge our public obligations, the common welfare requires that they should be paid to our own citizens, and by this augmenting the means of taxation,—lessen the burdens of the tax-payer. A wholesome reciprocity of duty between the Government and governed should be upheld with the strictest fidelity, which cannot be done by taxing the people in behalf of foreign bondholders. By

the Government contributing the profits of the labor of this country, to enhance the wealth and increase the capital of the monied aristocracies of the old world.

The patriots of the revolution grasped the sword and severed their connection with the mother country, mainly because she made them tributary to her fortune, while they were denied representation in her councils; cause sufficient, but small in comparison with the unrequited burdens now sought to be imposed upon the American people by scheming sons of those patriot sires, by converting our debt, overwhelming as it is, into non-taxed gold bearing bonds, having over a quarter of a century to run, and negotiate them abroad. Such is the syndicate policy; and if you would convert these States, virtually if not in fact, again into British colonies—have every dollar of American gold melted in the British crucible, your factories, machine shops and ship yards closed; your finances, your foreign commerce and carrying trade placed at the mercy of Great Britain, and she permanently enthroned mistress of the seas; carry out the syndicate policy. But if you would remain free and independent, and maintain that position among the nations of the earth, to which, by the laws of nature and nature's God, you are entitled, you should keep your debt at home, in the hands of your own citizens, and subject to your own laws.

A saving of one or one-and-a-half per cent. interest, as claimed, if realized, does not justify the hazard of the enterprise. But, remembering that the reduced interest has to be paid every three months, and that the bondholder has the same to operate on for the remainder of the year; and that not a dollar of gold or other money is brought into the country by the process, but that it is only an exchange of a bond, the principal and interest both payable in gold for a five-twenty bond, the principal of which may be paid in the lawful money of the United States, and at the option of the Government. The saving, if anything, becomes infinitesimal in amount, a myth, and the subterfuge of the syndicate policy to place a foreign creditor between the people and the bondholder, and convert our five-twentieths into gold bonds, is exposed in its guilty deformity.

The syndicate policy, carried out as contemplated, will extract millions annually from the wealth of this nation, and to that extent reduce the means of taxation and our medium of exchange, which would not occur if our accruing interest was paid to our own citizens.

England, dependent upon her natural resources, is a pauper in comparison with America, with her's. Yet constitute England our creditor, the holder of our non-taxed obligations, amounting to upwards of two billions of dollars, to be paid, principal and interest, in gold, which we cannot now pay, and which, under our present monetary system, by reason of the scarcity of gold, we can never pay; and America will become a mere tributary power. The products of the labor of our tolling millions of freemen will be appropriated to the aggrandizement of the aristocracy of England, as are the products of the toil of her own oppressed subjects. If you would avert such a calamity,

the bare mention of which is enough to cause an American to feel for his sword, you must keep your debt at home in the hands of your own citizens.

And if you would carry on the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and have Americans, in fact as in theory, free and equal, or long continue their institutions, you must relieve labor—the productive industry of the country—from the incubus of interest or discount, now exacted by law in behalf of the national banks.

Greenbacks and the national currency must be superseded, and in lieu thereof Congress must establish a medium of exchange, not mere promises to pay, but possessing all of the qualities of money, and of a consistency and in quality adapted to the convenience, and answerable to the necessities of the whole people.

This Congress, as the representative agency of the people, may do. The authority to coin money need not to have been conferred by constitutional provision; it is an inherent, indispensable and organic power which attaches to sovereignty, and in its exercise Congress should keep in view and circumscribe its action by the principles upon which the Government is founded. England does this, Imperial France did the same, and the German Empire would waver in blood rather than surrender the exercise of a power so vital to her imperial existence. England has her gold standard of values, and paper promises or obligations to pay. So has America—gold for the uses of capital—promises to pay for the uses of her laboring classes, for trade and commerce; and no system could be devised better adapted to the support of a monarchy, or more detrimental to republican institutions.

Money is the creature of law. It is a token of sovereignty power, and its value or usefulness does not depend upon the value of the material upon which the token may be impressed, but upon the ability or value of the sovereign power of which it is the creature; unless that which is intangible, a mere ideal, is a commodity, or unless sovereignty itself is a commodity. The token alone imparts the power or quality of money, and when stamped by sovereign authority upon a thing of substance, the substance bearing the token, whatever it may be, gold, silver or paper, becomes a standard of values. It is founded upon the whole wealth of a nation, backed by the power of sovereignty, and circulates as a medium of exchange in discharge of all obligations within the jurisdiction of its sovereign, and whatever the invention falling short of this, it is not money in the true sense of that term. The token is the voice of sovereignty, speaking through the law, and will give to any substance the quality of money, that quality being an assurance given it by law. That a token which a vendor receives for the commodity he sells will pay for the commodity he buys according to an agreed price, or the value of the commodity. That which you may pay or tender in payment, or in discharge of a debt—the end of the law under the civil code—that which embodying sovereign powers when property has been levied on, and the law officer is

about to pronounce the fatal word—sold—which has carried woe into so many households, and driven widows and orphans—numbering millions—to depend upon the cold clarity of the world, will satisfy the judgment, and stop the sale.

The commodity upon which the token may be stamped, may, as gold and silver do, possess material value, but the value exists because of the use to which the commodity may be applied, not because of the stamp of the money token.

A piece of gold of the same weight and carat of a twenty dollar gold piece, is as valuable without as with the money token, save the expense of coinage.

Gold is not created by law, neither is silver, while money is the creature of law solely. Gold and silver are parts of the creation or substances produced by natural causes, and depend upon labor to develop their usefulness and adapt them to the uses of mankind, the same as the diamond that adorns the brow of majesty, or renders more resplendent the charms of our queenly beauties. The diamond is more precious than gold, but it has not the quality of money, and why?—for the want of the money token, that which alone can impart to any substance the quality of money. The gold eagle has the quality of money, and why? Because in pursuance of law the money token is stamped thereon.

Gold and silver, like other useful commodities possessing material values, are of the wealth, and as articles of commerce augment the wealth of the nation that produces them, but they do not of themselves possess the quality of money any more than does any other substance. They are but commodities until the money token is affixed to them. It follows that every ounce of gold and silver that are produced from our gold and silver mines and coined into money, is to that extent subtracting from the commercial wealth of the nation, and adds to the balance of trade against us.

The value of our gold and silver products amount to many millions annually; all of which—the only legitimate use of money being to facilitate the business transactions of our trade and commerce, is lost to our commercial wealth, being buried in the money token.

Is this sacrifice made from necessity? Are gold and silver the only commodities of which money may be coined? Cannot paper be stamped with the money token? Assuredly it can. And if it is the money token that imparts to a substance the powers or qualities of money, reason, although supported by the prejudices of ages, must fail to explain why money may not be coined of paper.

It may be urged, it has been urged, that under the Constitution the Government can use only metals in the coining of money, but this idea, under the enlightened construction of that instrument, by the nation's highest legal tribunal, in the cases of *Knox vs. Lee*, *Farker vs. Davis*, and *Fabbick vs. Wilson*, reported in 12th Waller, has been exploded; and it would seem, if reason is to control, forever put to rest. Congress may provide for the coining of paper dollars or gold dollars, or both,

as in its wisdom seemed expedient. This power is inherent in the sovereign people, to be exercised through their representatives in Congress assembled; and without the right of its untrammelled exercise, this nation would stand before the world an invalid sovereign, with the right arm of her sovereignty palsied by her side; a flimsy structure, without the means of self-defence; a prey to other powers; the victim of mob-rule and insurrection. What would have been the fate of the Union of these States in the late civil war, if we had had no other than gold or silver money or power to resort to another expedient? What would have been our destiny? How could we have assembled our armies or maintained them in the field? Would it not ere now have been written of the American Republic, as it is of the republics of former ages.

"Gone glimmering through the dream of things that were:
A schoolboy's tale the wonder of an hour."

Gold as a medium of exchange, on account of its known insatiable amount, and its want of adaptability to the demands of trade and commerce, as has been aptly said, "is a myth, a phantom, a ship in full sail in the clouds." And has since the discovery of the power of Polar Attraction, which converted the oceans into common highways for the nations, given place to the sceptre of the currency, that indispensable and more potent agency of commerce.

Gold, as the sole means of payment or redemption, in view of the magnitude of our debt and its scarcity, is a most wicked delusion, and in the disguise of funding bills, will perpetuate the burdens of the people.

The gross amount of the debt of the Nation—Municipal State and National, is not less than three-and-one-half billions of dollars. Can this vast sum be paid in gold under our present money system? Do the people now or can they ever possess it? Never. Your revenue laws may provide for its levy and collection, and under the claim of the public necessities, the authorities may seek to extort it even by tyrannical indictments, it will not be, it cannot be obtained, the interest alone, on a sum so vast, payable in gold, will absorb all of the profits of the productive industries of the nation, and perpetuate the debt. No hope of paying a sum so vast, under our present monetary system can be honestly entertained, the amount of gold is wholly insufficient to justify it, and to promise it is a fraud concealed beneath the mantle of the funding bill policy.

Capital should pause,—necessity knows no law.

Patriotism, the welfare of the nation the cause of liberty and mankind, councils of peace, patient endurance, but oppression persistently imposed absolute all ties, invokes the rights of self-preservation, the first law of nature; and sooner or later the people, even at the risk of ills they know not of, will seek in blood, if necessary, the overthrow of the power of their oppressors.

Gold is of the most precious, I may say the sovereign of metals; but as the sole standard, or measure of values, or payment a centralizer of wealth and power, a foe to civil equality,

and hence incompatible with the genius and spirit of our institutions. Having the quality of money, it is an exacting tyrant in peace, and in war a hiding, cringing, skulking coward.

When the sad tidings of America at war with herself, went crashing through the great American heart; and the sons of toil on either side, were pressing to the front, with their resolves to conquer or die; capital neither north or south drew the sword of idolatry, clasped its idol gold to its bosom, and fleeing the tents of chivalry and patriotism, sought safety within the shadow of the British Throne, or under the protecting wings of the Eagles of France; only anxious for the opportunity, now and during that lamentable conflict, so fully enjoyed, to prey upon the necessities of a war stricken nation. Yes, while the mournful tragedy of the war was being enacted, and the advocates for free government were, with trembling suspense awaiting the fate of the Republic—whether the last hope of liberty was to be lost in that endless night, that gathered over the Republics of former times, or whether her patriot defenders would return from the unnatural conflict bearing as trophies of victory the shackles of four millions of slaves—while surrounded by a nation in tears and shrouded in mourning; even while the dome of the capital of the nation was reflecting the light of the campfires of an imposing Rebellion; the Capital conspirators, with the gold and silver spectre, were in the departments of state, in the committee room, in the lobby and on the floor of the halls of Congress, night and day, suggesting, scheming, contriving and adroitly shaping legislation, to enslave and make tributary to its unappeasable avarice, the profits of the products of labor, and the story of their success; the attainment of the people, is told in national debt, of over two billions of dollars secured by non-taxed bonds bearing gold interest; is told, in the price the bonds were sold for, (on an average of fifty-five cents to the dollar, paid in greenbacks at their face, and while as measured by the gold standard, they were at a discount on an average of thirty cents on the dollar); is told in the amount of interest, that has been paid in gold on the bonds, amounting to their original cost and over; is told in the establishment of the monopoly conferred upon the National Banking associations, in their being constituted the sole agency through which the community may obtain the currency, and in the fact of the authority conferred upon the Banks as such agency, to exact ten per cent. interest paid in advance and calculated on the face of the loan; while the currency is furnished on the face of the loan; without interest or discount; is told in the fact that the productive industry of the country is taxed, to pay the bondholder, the earnings of his capital in gold, while the people are restricted to a depreciated currency, as their sole and only medium of exchange, and for the payment of their earnings; is told in the money difference between gold and the national currency in the fact, that capital wields the gold sceptre, free from

taxation, while the merchant, the mechanic, manufacturer and farmer, are taxed to pay to capital its gold interest and at the same time are charged ten per cent. on short loans, for the use of the currency, and also at the same time have to bear the loss of the money difference between gold and the currency; thus perpetuating the supremacy of gold, and the burdens of the people. It is told in the fact, that the capital invested, in our bonds, is rewarded with all the profits of labor, while the products of labor bear all of the burdens of government. It is told in the fact, that, instead of a currency medium of exchange, bearing the money token and made receivable for all dues to the government, as well as between individuals, and which would have made it a standard of values co-equal with gold in all domestic transactions; Congress was induced, to provide by law, that the interest on our bonds and duties on imports, should be paid in gold; thus subordinating the currency in the hands of the people, to the gold standard controlled by Capital; it is told in the fact, that the soldier who exchanged the comforts and endearments of home for the hardships and perils of war. The farmer, the producer and material man who furnished supplies, were paid for their services and property, and had their patriotism rewarded in a depreciated currency, the money broker and exchange dealer, who shunned the hazard of the conflict, were rewarded with gold interest; and are to-day the privileged wards of the nation.

I again ask, is this "equal and exact justice to all, exclusive privileges to none?" And repeat that the history of the legislation of no country, in any age, furnishes an example for such inequality, such inequality.

It is true that the monarchies of the old world have their gold standard of values, which are wielded by capital in the hands of their aristocracies; but the monopoly, the exclusive privileges conferred by law upon the National Banking Associations, are unknown save in the American Republic.

If, then, it is true that the authority to coin money abides in the Government by constitutional grant or by virtue of inherent sovereign power; and that the money token will impart to any substance upon which it may be coined the equalities of money; and that whether money shall be coined of gold, silver or paper, or of any one, or all of these substances, is a question not of power, but of mere policy; and that the sole and only legitimate purpose of the coining of money is to facilitate the transaction of the business of the nation, her trade and commerce; and that to give it uniformity, stability and credit, it should emanate exclusively from the General Government, in quantity and of a kind, answerable to the necessities of the people; and at the same time compatible in its effects upon community, with republican institutions. If it is true that gold, by reason of its scarcity, furnishes the pretext for another and additional circulating medium, such as the national currency, thus creating a two-fold medium of exchange; and that as the measure of values or of payment, gold tends to concentrate in the hands of a few; and as a means of payment of the debt of the nation it is a delu-

sion, and will necessitate funding bills and renewed loans, secured by non-taxed gold-bearing bonds, perpetually relieving capital from taxation, and perpetuate the burdens of the people and the debt of the nation. And, if under the syndicate policy our bonds are to be placed beyond the jurisdiction of our laws, and our people are to be perpetually taxed to pay the interest on our non-taxed securities in the hands of foreign capitalists, by which process America, with her glorious past and promised future, must become a mere tributary power. The time has come, the occasion demands, and the future hopes of the nation of liberty, and of civil equality, call upon the people to rouse themselves to a realization and just appreciation of the evils of our monetary system, and in the name of the imposing sovereignty they have the right to wield, as one man, demand and require that their representative agency—the Congress,—shall by statute-law, interpose and relieve them from the evils of past legislation, and afford them protection, for the future—a consummation vital to the Republic—clearly attainable within the grants of the Constitution, and in full accord with the theory of our institutions.

That is, to defray the current expenses of the Government—pay, instead of funding the national debt—furnish a safe and uniform medium of exchange—establish equal financial privileges between productive industry and capital—furnish the people with a standard of payment for a circulating medium, and return to the policy of paying as we go. No less indispensable to free Government than to the prosperity of an individual freeman. Necessity calls for the coining of *paper dollars*, stamped with the sovereign money token of the nation, and by the law of their coining, made receivable in full discharge of all dues to the Government, including the tariff or duties on imports now required to be paid in gold; and also payable in full discharge of all debts and liabilities, individual, State and National, not now required to be paid in gold or silver coin; and that instead of any further funding the public debt into non-taxed bonds, the principal and interest thereof to be paid in gold and negotiating them in England or other foreign government, as provided for under the syndicate policy. The law authorizing the same should be repealed, and a law enacted providing for and requiring the payment of our bonds as rapidly as the financial condition of the country may justify, say, in sums annually of five hundred millions, in installments at stated periods during the year, according as they may be numbered in their series and priority of date. Those payable in lawful money and at the option of the Government to be first paid, and in the money so coined, and that in case the bondholders should neglect or refuse to present the bonds for payment, as required, the interest thereon should be thereafter stopped.

I am not unaware that a policy such as is here indicated would incur the sore displeasure and bitter denunciation of the bondholder, gold rings, the national banks, and all like un-producing worshippers of the Golden Calf and their subsidized followers. "A fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind," and

as one man they would exclaim expansion, and with uplifted hands howl repudiation, dishonor. It is not the debt that the bondholder wants; it is his gold interest and a perpetual exemption of his capital from taxation.

The gold rings, the Wall Street Junta, who wield the sceptre to the undoing of the profits of the producer, could not endure a policy, which in the overthrow of our two-fold medium of exchange, and the repeal of the law requiring duties on imports to be paid in gold, contemplates the ruin of their devouring traffic.

And to deprive the national banks of the sceptre of the currency, by placing in the hands of the people a standard of value for a circulating medium, the co-equal before the law with gold in the transaction of the business of trade and commerce, would drive them to abdicate their powers, by which they hold as in the hollow of their hands the control of the vast products of the labor of the country; powers no less dangerous to civil equality than the rebellion, from which they sprang—powers that will be enjoyed by the banks while a fetid Congress remains open to their insidious approaches.

Nor will such objectors stand alone, unfortunately for the country, and which will render the success of such a policy a laborious one, and to establish it requires a determined movement along the whole line of the people; many of our most experienced, gifted and honored statesmen, who are relied upon and confided in as political teachers, and who have been and will continue prominent in framing rules of action, and in moulding the public judgment; acting, as we will accord, from a high sense of duty, and may be patriotic devotion to our common country; adhering to the policy of the mother country, and the practice of our own, derived therefrom; supported by their most potent auxiliary, that portion of the public press which they command, and by which their ideas and opinions well reasoned and seductively clothed, are pulsed throughout the body politic; entrenched behind fixed opinions, and a popular prejudice, deeply rooted in the public mind, against a paper circulating medium, caused by the fact that it has never had imparted to it by the stamp of the money token the qualities of money as gold has. Commenced and applauded by gold rings, the national banks, bondholders and exchange dealers, will throw around our monetary system the mantle of their protection, and with practiced tongue pour out studied antitheses in denunciation of a policy which contemplates the speedy payment of the national debt—relief from the payment of interest—forcing capital to share in the public burdens, and guaranteeing to labor, to productive industry, equal financial privileges with capital abolishing exclusive privileges, and bringing about an equitable distribution of the profits of labor between capital and labor.

Yes, honored Senators and Representatives in Congress, and their aid-decamps of the hustings, with no small show of defiance and impatient of opposing views, will proclaim paper money, although bearing the money token of the nation,

founded upon its good faith, and daily redeemed in the commodities of trade and taxation, worthless trash, wholly delusive unless convertible into another commodity, gold, at the will of the holder.

Again, that the substance of which money is composed should possess an intrinsic value equal to the value thereof as fixed by the money token stamped thereon.

Again, that gold is the money standard of the whole world, and therefore our commercial interests, as one of the sisterhood of nations, demands a like standard of values.

Again, that a national debt is a national blessing—that it works no injury to the people.

Again, that our public debt was incurred to save the life of the nation, and therefore this generation having fought the battles of the war, posterity should pay the debt.

A formidable roll of objections, truly; and, if well founded in fact, and indorsed by the principle invoked by the founders of the Republic, constitute a most potent appeal for a continuation of our monetary system, and for submission on the part of the people, to the wrongs entailed upon them thereby; but if not so founded and indorsed, or at all incompatible with the theory upon which the Republic is pillared; in view of the civil inequality inaugurated thereby they should be swept away, with the ill-founded reasons relied on in justification of the wrongs, impositions and oppressions overcome by the Revolution and buried. I trust, forever beneath the bloody footprints of our Revolutionary sires.

How stand the facts? We have at no time since the organization of the Government, had such an issue or coinage of money. The nearest approach to it is found in the greenback and national currency issues, but which, by reason of their being mere promises to pay money. Limited in their functions of payment, not having imparted to them, only in part, the sovereign powers, that are imparted by the stamp of the money token; they fall far short of possessing the powers of money, as would paper money coined as proposed.

Greenbacks nor is the national currency convertible into gold at the will of the holder, nor are they made redeemable in gold or other coin, and yet those who may oppose the coinage of paper money as I have had the liberty here to suggest. Although issuing from the same mint, resting upon the same authority, backed by the same sovereign sanction, and possessing ergo functions, being made receivable in discharge of all dues to the Government, including the tariff or duties on imports now required to be paid in gold. While they condemn such a coinage, with what consistency the country must judge, will declare greenbacks and the national currency, the best paper money system in the world, and the best that can be devised; and asked why; answer, because resting upon the promise of the American people and the boundless resources of the nation.

May I ask it the wealth and plighted faith of the American nation gives credit and stability to her mere promises to pay money, will not that wealth and plighted faith give credit and

stability to any substance bearing the stamp of the sovereign money token of the nation?

But it will be said that the coinage of paper dollars would result in a paper medium of exchange, in exclusion of gold and silver—would drive gold and silver out of circulation. On the contrary, the coinage of paper dollars, made the co-equal of gold in the transaction of the business of the people, and thereby place in the hands of community a measure or standard of values, or payment, possessing all of the qualities of money, would leave gold to lie idle in the vaults where it is now hoarded for speculative purposes solely, or to seek investment in the channels of trade, and in the development of the natural resources of the country.

Idle it would not be permitted to remain. An inducement to that end would be wanting, and capital would not brook the loss, but ever vigilant in its own behalf capital would dispatch gold in search of its coveted gains.

But, suppose the result would prove an exclusive paper medium of exchange, what have we now? And what have we had for the last twelve years? Who among you during that period of time, has seen a dollar of gold applied to the purpose of its coinage circulating as a medium of exchange in the transaction of the business of trade and commerce. Has it not, while under the law, holding the chief place as a standard of values, been withdrawn from circulation, retired by capital and converted into a commodity—a thing of mere bargain and sale, while greenbacks and the national currency have been substituted for the uses of the people—their only attainable medium of circulation.

And who so bold, as to insist, that paper dollars, clothed with the powers of the money token, would not be far preferable to greenbacks and the national currency as a circulating medium limited in function, encumbered with interest and trammelled with discount as the national currency and greenbacks are. And who so blind to reason, as not to see, in a circulating medium having all of the attributes and powers of money—an equal with gold, at par with it in the channels of trade—a bulwark of productive industry, as well as of capital?

But again, it is urged that the substance used in the coinage of money, should possess, an intrinsic or material value equal to the value thereof, as fixed by the money token stamped thereon, or be made convertible into gold at the will of the holder. Here we have the index, to the long chapter of wrongs imposed by capital upon labor, artfully concealed in the mystery of a redeemable currency without the means of redemption. Here is the weight that pulls productive industry down, and enables capital to wield the financial sceptre to the enslavement of labor.

Here we have capital stripped of its disguise—of its bequilements, and seen in the plain light of the people as it is, scourge, and the hand that inflicts the blows. Exhibited in a two-fold medium of exchange—gold and the currency—gold possessing a high commercial value as a commodity, for the uses of central-

ized wealth, and currency infinitesimal in value as a commodity for the uses of the people.

A monetary system, well devised to strengthen the hands of aristocracies and perpetuate monarchies, where it originated, but wholly at war, with civil equality the only hope of a free people. If it was true that the commercial value of the commodity used in the coinage of money, and not the stamp of the money token imparted the qualities or power of money, my votes would be for the use of the precious metals solely and thus slay the evils of a two-fold medium of exchange—thus avoid the monopolies and exclusive privileges conferred upon money corporations—the money difference between gold and a depreciated currency—the discount paid to the national banks, and drive gold into the channels of trade, where it will not be found while it remains the sovereign measurer of values, and is rewarded with the emolument of discount. But it will be urged that gold is insufficient in amount, to answer the demands of our trade and commerce, true, but what then? As they do now, those who urge upon us a two-fold medium of exchange, will be driven to take refuge in a paper-mill, and under the specious pretence of necessity come from thence laden with greenbacks or the national currency or both, to supply a medium of circulation.

But it is not true, that the qualities of money are imparted by or depend upon the commercial value of the commodity or substance employed in its coinage, on the contrary, the qualities of money are conferred by the exercise of a power belonging to sovereignty, and is expressed and made tangible by the stamp of the money token on a thing of substance.

The value of the money token is, and should be measured and depend upon the ability of the sovereign employing it, to make good or enforce its decrees. It should depend upon, and not be independent of its sovereignty.

Money, properly understood, is not a commodity. It can have no commercial value as a commodity; and when converted into a commodity—is made merchandise—is bought and sold as gold is, it is given a property which does not belong to it, and becomes an alien to the purposes of its coinage.

Having a commercial value as a commodity as gold has; when its sovereign is imperial, when it is most needed, it will forsake its function as a circulating medium, become a thing of mere bargain and sale, or take refuge beyond the pale of danger. But if its value as a commodity should be infinitesimal as paper would be, the gates of commerce would be closed against it as a commodity, and it would be driven to the side of its creator, there to abide the fate, to stand or fall with its sovereign.

But it will be asked, what is to be done when we may be compelled to seek foreign aid, this is a contingency too humiliating to influence the policy of the American nation but my answer is, do as we do now and as we ever have done, pay in the equivalent. Again it may be asked, how are we to pay our gold interest, my answer again is, do as we do now, pay in the equivalent. Again it may be asked, how are we to pay, for commo-

dities imported hither from foreign countries; I again answer do as we do row, pay in the equivalent. Again it will be asked how are we to pay our bonds made payable in gold; I again answer pay in the equivalent.

If we could but realize the fact, that the people, and not the authorities at Washington, are the government, our solutions would be easier. American gold, although bearing the money token of the most abundant of nations and imposing Republic known to history, is not payable by virtue of that token in England, but when offered there, is at once stripped of its money qualities, reduced to the grade of a mere commodity and its values fixed, not by the token it bears, but as measured by the English standard of values. The money difference between the currency and the gold that is collected and paid into the Treasury in the payment of the duties on imports, and the money difference between the currency and London exchange paid for foreign commodities imported here, are added to the cost of the commodity, and are borne by the people by whom they are consumed.

Impelled by these considerations, verified by our experience, I adopt the view, that the commercial value of the material, of which money is coined and furnished by the government, should be the lowest in amount.

The standard value of money must always vary somewhat from the worth of its material, when the value as of gold is commercially high, its fluctuations on account of quantity may become serious, but when it is cheap as of paper, its variations, are infinitesimal in amount; paper reaches a sameness of standard value, as nearly as human wisdom can devise, and as a medium of exchange the commercial world, despite of the edicts of parliaments and congresses, in its use condemns the gold and silver theory as a heresy.

In former times the commerce of mankind was limited and its comrade money was equally sparse; commerce was tedious, slow in its movements and scant in its store, it traded by exchange, one commodity for another, but the discovery of Polar Attraction, and the uses of the mariners compass imparted a new life to commerce, quickened its transit and necessitated an agency that antiquity knew nothing of, currency became that agency and in the hands of modern nations, has ousted gold as a usurper, and driven it into the fetid haunts of mere speculative brokerage, where clothed with its legal superiority, it is the instrument, with which law-favored capital enhances the value and augments the powers of its aristocratic possessors.

But again, it is insisted that gold is the money standard of the whole world, and that the American as one of the sisterhood of nations, should have the standard of values. A mere flourish of words, having no foundation in fact. The argument of gold-banded capital, and of its unproductive industry. It is true that England has her gold standard of values, so has the German Empire and other foreign powers, and we have ours; but it is also true that the gold standard of Germany, of France or of America is not a standard as for as England, nor is the gold

coin of England a standard of values either in Germany, France or America. The fact being that the money of no nation, no matter what its material, is current as money, or possesses the powers or qualities of money within another sovereignty. The gold eagle of America does not run current with the Napoleon of France, or the sovereign of England. It cannot be tendered in payment, or paid in discharge of a debt, judgment, decree or other obligation beyond the jurisdiction of its sovereign. When our coin is taken out of the limits of the United States, it is at once stripped of its money qualities, of its money powers imparted by the American money token, and becomes a commercial commodity. American gold is at a discount of from eight to nine per cent. at the British counter.

In the presence of these facts, I pronounce the assertion "that gold is the money standard of the world," an absurdity. A nation's sovereignty is confined to the limits of its jurisdiction. One sovereignty has no power within another sovereignty in the matter of the establishment of a money standard of values. A money standard of values is the result of the exercise of one of the highest and most indispensable attributes of sovereignty, and so vital to independent government that it has ever been the practice of nations to guard its exercise with the most jealous care. There is no such thing as reciprocity among nations in the establishment of a money standard of values, nor can there be, and they remain independent of each other; nor should there be between this republic and the monarchies of Europe.

If America should prove herself America's friend, she must in the establishment of her money standard, or measure of values, conform to her own circumstances, ability and theory of government. If gold, on account of its insufficiency in amount, is inadequate as a circulating medium, or tends to the undue concentration of wealth—necessitates a borrowed money system or a two-fold medium of exchange, to continue it the standard or measure of values, in exclusion of another substance not subject to such objections, is to apply the knife to her own throat—suicidal.

It has been said, and truly, that the money token of a people is for domestic, not foreign purposes. It is immaterial to a foreign nation what the medium of exchange of another people in their home traffic is composed of. When the citizens of diverse nations interchange their wealth, let them settle their balances as they individually choose, but let each nation adjust its own household affairs as it suits them.

When American products are imported into England or France for sale, they are no longer American commodities—they are French or English merchandise to be bought and sold, not for the American, but for the French or English standard of values—with which the shipper may purchase French or English commodities for the American market, which, imported here, in like manner, become American merchandises to be bought and sold, not for the money token of France or England, but of America, else sovereignty would surrender the powers of the money token to usurping capital, and thereby surrender the control of commerce, domestic and foreign.

dities imported hither from foreign countries; I again answer do as we do now, pay in the equivalent. Again it will be asked how are we to pay our bonds made payable in gold; I again answer pay in the equivalent.

If we could but realize the fact, that the people, and not the authorities at Washington, are the government, our solutions would be easier. American gold, although bearing the money token of the most abundant of nations and imposing Republic known to history, is not payable by virtue of that token in England; but when offered there, is at once stripped of its money qualities, reduced to the grade of a mere commodity and its value fixed, not by the token it bears, but as measured by the English standard of values. The money difference between the currency and the gold that is collected and paid into the Treasury in the payment of the duties on imports, and the money difference between the currency and London exchange paid for foreign commodities imported here, are added to the cost of the commodity, and are borne by the people by whom they are consumed.

Impelled by these considerations, verified by our experience, I adapt the view, that the commercial value of the material of which money is coined and furnished by the government, should be the lowest in amount.

The standard value of money must always vary somewhat from the worth of its material, when the value as of gold is commercially high, its fluctuations on account of quantity may become serious, but when it is cheap as of paper, its variations, are infinitesimal in amount; paper can be devised, and a medium value, as nearly as human wisdom can devise, and a medium of exchange the commercial world, despite of the edicts of parliaments and congresses, in its use concerns the gold and silver theory as a heresy.

In former times the commerce of mankind was limited and its comrade money was equally spare; commerce was tedious, slow in its movements and scant in its store, it traded by exchange, one commodity for another, but the discovery of Polar Attraction, and the uses of the mariners compass imparted a new life to commerce, quickened its transit and necessitated an agency that antiquity knew nothing of, currency became that agency and in the hands of modern nations, has ousted gold as a usurer, and driven it into the fabled haunts of mere speculative brokerage, where clothed with its legal superiority, it is the instrument, with which law-favored capital enhances the value and augments the powers of its aristocratic possessors.

But again, it is insisted that gold is the money standard of the whole world, and, therefore, America as one of the sisterhood of nations, should have a like standard of values. A mere flourish of words, having no foundation in fact. The argument of gold-banded capital, and puffal of productive industry. It is true that England has her gold standard of values, so has the German Empire and other foreign powers, and we have ours; but it is also true that the gold coin of Germany, of France or of America is not a standard of value in England, nor is the gold

coin of England a standard of values either in Germany, France or America. The fact being that the money of no nation, no matter what its material, is current as money, or possesses the powers or qualities of money within another sovereignty. The gold eagle of America does not run current with the Napoleon of France, or the sovereign of England. It cannot be tendered in payment, or paid in discharge of a debt, judgment, decree or other obligation beyond the jurisdiction of its sovereign. When our coin is taken out of the limits of the United States it is at once stripped of its money qualities, of its money powers imported by the American money token, and becomes a commercial commodity. American gold is at a discount of from eight to nine per cent, at the British counter.

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While it is the duty of the American law-giver to guard with jealous care all legitimate pursuits, he should, with wakeful vigilance, shield and foster the productive industry of the nation, for it is the source of all wealth, the sheet-anchor of the Republic.

The foreign commerce of the United States does not exceed five per cent. of her domestic trade. Why, then, I ask, why ignore a policy consistent with our theory of government, and adapted to our conveniences and necessities, to accommodate our money standard or measure of values to the financial policy of the old world? "He who provideth not for his own household is worse than an infidel," is as true of a nation as of an individual. But we are pointed (it must be with averted faces) to the greenback and national currency issues, depreciated by interest and discount—their money powers being measured by the gold standard as the people's panacea.

I purpose no war upon capital, nor upon its idol, gold. Capital is as necessary to labor, as labor is to it—further than to maintain that capital should bear a due proportion of the public burdens, and content itself with an equitable distribution of the profits of productive industry, and that the Government shall establish a medium of exchange possessing equal money powers with gold, within the limits of our national jurisdiction.

I would not have our mints closed to the coinage of gold and silver, and the coinage of paper dollars involves no such necessity or consequences. Let the fortunate owners of these commodities have their coined into money at will, but I would have the Government coin paper money sufficient in amount to represent the developed and developing wealth of the nation as a circulating medium of exchange, stamped with the sovereign money token of the nation, and thus made the co-equal of gold in the transaction of our domestic affairs.

But again, it is insisted that a national debt is a national blessing. That a national debt works no injury or wrong to the people. That it stimulates public energy and enterprise, and enforces the industry of the people, and that in this they are blessed; and of a truth, if it be true, that a national debt is a national blessing, the people of the United States are most blessed. They are in the midst of a national millennium, and their murmurings under their indictious are subject to their public servants. And that instead of reducing or paying the public debt it should be increased. The camp fires of the Rebellion should be rekindled, and the liabilities thereby entailed upon the people many times multiplied. Instead of a debt, State and National, of three and a half billions, let it be increased to thirty-two billions, so that every dollar of the nation's wealth shall be incumbered by a corresponding indebtedness, bearing interest at a rate that will necessitate funding bills to be again tumbled, and thus insure the perpetuation of the debt. Instead of a reduction of taxation, taxation should be increased until the fast-fading of the profits of labor is periodically wrung from two tolling millions of the nation, and sacrificed at the shrine of capital. Instead of rewarding home industry and capital with

the profits of productive industry, and thus augment the means of taxation; and lessen the burdens of the tax-payer, send our bonds abroad, negotiate them in foreign markets, so that the interest extorted by taxation shall be withdrawn from our national wealth and poured into the laps of the monied aristocracies of Europe, as contemplated by the syndicate policy.

If a public debt is a national blessing, what credit have they who may be honestly laboring for the extinguishment of ours? What credit is due to the Administration for its patriotic efforts to that end?

Why hail as public benefactors those who may be with patriotic fidelity endeavoring to so shape legislation as to relieve the people from the crushing weight of the exactions imposed upon them?

If a public debt is a national blessing, away with honesty in the discharge of public trusts. Away with economy in the administration of public affairs. Veil forever the teachings and example of those who fought the Revolution, to give life, character and independence to the Republic. Repeat again and again the "Credit Mobilier"; wipe out the imaginary shame of the salary-grabbers; restore those injured innocents to favor, and bid them on in the work of the profligate increase of the public expenditures.

Promote to places of trust and public confidence those only, who in defiance of constitutional limitation, will multiply corporate monopolies, land grants and subsidies; who will conceal fraud beneath their official robes, and give a loose-reign to official corruption, for such have and ever will prove fruitful sources of a public debt.

But, appealing to the sentiments of the founders, as promulgated in that instrument by which they threw down the gauntlet of war to the mother country, and believing that the law should have no favorites, in the name of our institutions, and the reasons which gave them birth, I pronounce the assertion that a public debt is a national blessing a political heresy.

A public debt necessitates taxation, and every dollar of tax imposed upon the citizen is a charge upon his earnings, and to that extent lessens the rewards of his labor.

Ask the producer on his return from his market, after having paid the cost of the transportation of his products, if he finds comfort in the visitation of the emissaries of the bondholder and exchange dealer—the tax gatherer. Ask the mechanic, or he who may have gone through a year's diligent toil in any branch of business, if he finds consolation in the fact that all of his earnings have been absorbed in the cost of his living.

A public debt in one way or another adds to the cost of all the necessities of life, and when the debt is held by capital, as is ours, and exists in non-taxed gold-bearing bonds in the hands of foreign capitalists, the oppression upon productive industry is increased two-fold. No, the assertion "a public debt is a national blessing" is the language of law-favored capital to a tax-enslaved people—of the bondholders and exchange dealer, to

oppressed labor—of non-taxed capital to a tax-burdened people, restive under their oppressions—is the language of the subsidised advocates of a borrowed money policy, and in conflict with the words of the proverb, "The borrower is ever the slave to the lender," penned by the wisest of men, and as true now as it was in the days of Solomon.

A nation like an individual, to be politically blessed must be independent of creditors, free from their exactions. And J. Cook, who paraded the heresy, is a recent and most striking illustration of its fallacy; the closing of whose vaults, whether they contained the *Tin Box* or not, as by magic closed the doors of the banks throughout the nation, even Europe felt the shock.

But again it is insisted that our debt was incurred, to save the life of the nation. And that this generation having fought the battles of the war, posterity should pay the debt. True the debt resulted from the war; and it is now too late to urge the impolicy of issuing gold bearing bonds and their having been disposed of at a ruinous discount, by which the expenses of the war were doubled. Instead of a resort to a power belonging to sovereignty and inherent in the government, and the coining of paper money instead of bonds, and have made it receivable for all dues to the government, including duties on imports, as well as between individuals, which must and would have given them credit and circulation; would have made it better than greenbacks or the currency; and by which the actual expenses of the war, would have been long since absorbed in the payment of taxes; and the sacrifice incurred in the sale of the bonds, and the payment of gold interest, already amounting to a sum as great, if not in excess, of the amount realized from the sale of the bonds, avoided.

But it does not follow that, because this generation fought the battles of the war, that therefore we should hand down to posterity the debt incurred thereby.

The debt is ours, and if possible we should pay it; for while it was incurred to preserve the unity of the nation, that we might transmit to posterity that which had been confided to us with the solemn injunction to defend it against all foes, foreign and domestic; it is no less true, that the debt was contracted in vindication of our own rights, to defend our own property and firesides,—to maintain our own liberty and independence; and make America, indeed, a nation of freemen, to abolish slavery. Posterity may, and most likely will, have its own foes to contend against its own liberty and independence—to defend it as we have had to defend ours. And if we would prove ourselves worthy of the name of patriots, we must within the scope of our ability and sovereign authority, in peace as in war, prove true to the cause of liberty and mankind, by transmitting to posterity, our institutions strong in the affections and confidence of the people; and not the palsied remains of a once grand Republic, with battered crest and gore-stained jaws, topling in its fall under the crushing weight of a public debt in the hands of an exacting non-taxed moneyed aristocracy.

And what would be gained by turning over the debt to

posterity? The interest goes on, and this generation must, under our existing monetary system, pay in interest alone a sum equal to the debt. Make the calculation if you will, and you will find the assertion verified.

What then is our duty? In the presence of the evils borne by the people, with the sad experience of nations long since entombed beneath the ruins of their once imposing grandeur, before us; the answer forces itself upon us: **PAY THE DEBT AND STOP THE INTEREST.**

Congress has power to coin paper money and make it receivable for all dues to the nation, and between individuals, not payable in kind, and with the money so coined, may provide the means for the payment of the national debt; and lift from the people the incubus by which they are prostrated at the feet of over shadowing monopolies,—banks, bondholders and gold rings. That would secure to the people a circulating medium, the co-equal, at par with gold in the transaction of the nations interchange of values, abolish the money difference between the gold and the currency. That would do away with our borrowed money system, the practice of issuing promises to be redeemed in gold without the gold to comply with the promise, the source of funding bills, bank failures, bankruptcies and national distresses. That would insure a return at once to specie payment, without the evils, hardships and ruin, sure to attend a resumption of specie payment with gold or silver. That would cheapen money and promote public works, the construction and equipment of railroads, open up competing lines of transit, and insure competition in the carrying trade. The only sure reliance of the producer against exorbitant rates of transportation imposed by corporate monopolies.

That would revive ship-building, and in our day restore our marine to its wanted position upon the high seas; carry our flag at the masthead of our merchantmen to the trade marts of the world, and enable America again to successfully compete with England for the carrying trade of the nations. That would disarm the monster, a two-fold medium of exchange, by which the substance of the people is devoured, and drive gold from its fetid haunts of mere speculation into the channels of trade, there to subserve the sole and only legitimate purpose of its coinage, to circulate as a medium in the exchange of values; and thus strengthen the bonds of our union, and lay broader and deeper the foundations of our freedom and independence.

That would free the toiling millions of the nation from an impending slavery, not so inhuman perhaps as that which was imposed upon the Helots of Sparta, or the African in America. But more universal than either, and no less potent in oppression than the slavery imposed by the Feudal System, which was developed in that darkness which spread over Europe upon the fall of the Roman Empire, and which bore unrestricted sway until about the close of the eleventh century, when the crusaders marched to rescue the Holy Land from the rule and cruelties of the infidel.

Which epoch, so eventful in the world's history, though

slow in its developments, having marked the earth with blood during two centuries, roused Europe to the espousal of the cause of civil equality, and by the aid of the enlightening influences of commerce finally dissolved the fetters of the Feudal System and drove the Feudal Lords, the aristocracy, to discover some other means by which to continue their mastery over labor. They were not long in making the discovery. They seized the sceptre of finance, and merging into a monied aristocracy, they and their successors have from thence to this out, without intermission, inexorably and relentlessly wielded it to the undoing of labor. Not only in Europe, but having followed the pilgrims to the new world, and when the Republic rose from the crushing embrace of the parent country, this insidious foe to her perpetuity was found lurking in her councils.

It passed unheeded, that a system of finances which imparts strength and perpetuity to a monarchy must prove destructive to a Republic, and mark the period of its overthrow.

A monarchy is a creature of the concentration of sovereign powers, and rests upon the civil inequality of men, while a Republic is created by a diffusion of the powers of sovereignty and rests upon the civil equality of men.

And it is most strange that the principle of equality, vital to a Republic, and which animated the fathers and gave victory to their cause, should have been overlooked in the adoption of the English system of finance.

England bowed before the prowess and patriotism of her oppressed colonists, but not before she had planted deep in the bosom of the young nation the poisoned shafts of human and financial slavery, more threatening to a Republic, when prejudiced by fixed opinions and love of power, than all of the mailed hosts with which she might seek to invade our soil.

Fixed opinions, even prejudices, often repel the attacks of reason, and when alloyed with self-interest, convert ancient evils into vested rights. The demands of justice, and the promptings of the most exalted philanthropy and patriotism, are met with sordid indifference.

Point to the condition of labor in Great Britain and on the continent: to the excessive toll demanded from even women in the coal mines of England and Belgium, and from tender children in the fen-gangs of England, which deprives childhood of its buoyancy, home of its charms, and which supplants intelligent and sturdy youth by ignorance and premature decrepitude, and prove as you may that the monetary system under which they live is the ostensible cause, still the vicaries of wealth and power. The monied aristocracy, with a blind indifference to the rights and welfare of others will, with the death grapple cleave to the system that exalts them, though it may degrade their fellow men.

The yoke of the Feudal Lords has been long since buried beneath the rubbish of ages.

Manhood slavery in America has been stricken down in blood, and my humble petition is that our financial slavery may be overthrown, without meeting with a like bloody doom.



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